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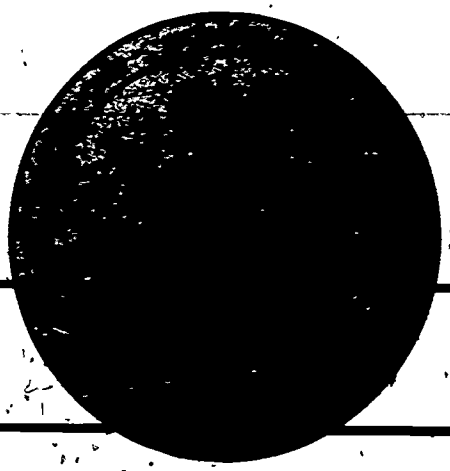
ABSTRACT

The National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences helped to launch the senior scholars program of the Fulbright-Hays Program, to provide an administrative home for it for almost three decades, and, in association with its sister services, to watch over it. This brief institutional history of this limited aspect of the program is written from a Washington viewpoint. (Author)

Stewards for International Exchange

The Role of The National Research Council in the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program 1947-1975



Commission on Human Resources

STEWARDS FOR INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE
THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL IN THE SENIOR FULBRIGHT-HAYS PROGRAM
1947-1975

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RESOURCES

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Washington, D. C.

April 30, 1976

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PREFACE

Three decades have passed since the United States joined with other nations to institute the far-reaching program of international, cultural, and educational exchange that came to be called the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program. The program was born in a time of troubles. Vast territories had been devastated in World War II, national economies shattered, peoples destroyed or torn from their cultural roots, ancient universities rendered helpless, and world ties broken. Although spared physical destruction, the United States had its scars and had entered a period of uneasy questioning of its national values and goals. Abroad, instead of vigorous intellectual debate, flowering of the arts, and scientific renascence, there was a shocked hush. The long shadow of the nuclear bomb lay over the world. Would the vigorous and free cultural and scientific exchanges of the past between this country and others soon be restored? In the gray world of 1946 there was reason to doubt it.

Yet the immediate postwar era was also a time of hope and new ventures. Things were stirring. Nations were beginning to reach out to each other. Cooperative economic enterprises and new intergovernmental organizations appeared. It was the day of the Marshall Plan and the young United Nations.

In this era, the Fulbright Program had its beginnings. It went on to become a major instrument of restoration of cultural and educational ties among nations. Although the program had several valuable components, the exchange of senior scholars led the way and became the symbol of the program in the eyes of the world. Some 13,500 scholars from the United States traveled abroad during three decades under the program's auspices, and 14,500 scholars came to the United States from other countries. They represented all academic fields, many of the professions, and several branches of the arts. They lectured, did research, and consulted -- doing what scholars do to enrich the environment in which they live. They enriched themselves also -- not financially, because the program was quite austere, but intellectually and culturally -- and took back with them scholarly benefits that could be put to good use in their home countries. As somewhat exotic outsiders, Fulbright scholars also took part in the social life of their host communities and became culture carriers in more than the academic sense. Not all were successful in their tasks, but the percentage of success was high. They were sometimes called cultural ambassadors, and that is what they were.

This report tells how one institution -- the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences -- helped to launch the senior scholars program, provided an administrative home for it for almost three decades, and in association with its sister research councils watched over it, relinquishing this stewardship when such services no longer were wanted. The report is not a definitive history of the Fulbright Program -- such has yet to be written. It is rather a brief institutional history of a limited aspect of the program written from a Washington viewpoint -- a contribution to the total record of this large and complex activity. As such, it may be of interest both to the general reader and to the specialist in science policy studies. Robert K. Weatherall of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology served as a consultant in the preparation of the report and has earned our sincere thanks.

The role of the National Research Council in the administration of the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program has passed into history. The council was glad to be of service in conducting this important program and wishes it well as it enters a fourth decade of existence. If the principles of cooperation, academic freedom, mutual good will, and dedication to high scholarly standards prevail, the program will serve this nation and its world neighbors well in the years ahead.

March 15, 1976

Philip Handler
President
National Academy of Sciences

Chapter I

THE PROGRAM BEGINS

When Senator J. W. Fulbright persuaded a willing Congress in 1946 to use the proceeds from the sale of surplus war equipment overseas to support a program of international educational exchange, those responsible for making the program a reality turned to private organizations to help administer it. The idea that encouragement should be given to private initiative was already a guiding principle in the government's conduct of international cultural relations. "In this country", the Under Secretary of State had told an audience of educators in 1939, "the initiative for cultural exchange properly resides with you. ...The concept of an 'official' culture is altogether alien to us". The role of the State Department, he said, was to be "essentially a clearinghouse, a coordinating agency, whose purpose is to collaborate in every appropriate way without trespassing upon and much less supplanting your activities."[1]

The State Department had established the Division of Cultural Relations in 1938 to offer some competition to German cultural propaganda, especially in Latin America. The division was assisted by the General Advisory Committee, composed of persons prominent in public life and representatives of educational and scholarly organizations. In 1941, for example, its 10 members included the Vice President of the United States, Henry A. Wallace, the Librarian of Congress, Archibald MacLeish, the Director of the Institute of International Education, Stephen P. Duggan, and the Director of the American Council of Learned Societies, Waldo G. Leland.[2]

Early in 1943, shortly after the recapture of Guadalcanal but when the allied armies still had a long way to go to victory, the Advisory Committee discussed the shape of cultural relations after the war. Members declared their opposition to using cultural relations as a tool of policy. Cultural relations should serve U.S. interests indirectly, by stimulating free cultural exchanges between nations and thereby creating a climate favorable to peace.[3] A year later the committee declared formally: "No program of international cultural relations should be an instrument by means of which one people attempts to impose its ideas or conceptions upon another, or to achieve cultural ascendancy, or to accomplish non-cultural objectives. ...Programs of international cultural relations must be collectively agreed upon as between peoples and must be mutually acceptable and reciprocally carried out."[4]

Senator Fulbright was sowing on prepared ground, therefore, when he offered the proposal that the debts incurred by allied nations in buying American surplus war equipment be converted to a program of international educational exchange. The use of foreign credits for such a purpose was itself not unprecedented. The equipment was worth several hundred million dollars but few nations had the dollars. Fulbright told the Senate: "Most of the nations desiring to purchase our trucks, railroad equipment and so forth, abroad, do not have American dollars, or even the goods, to pay, and it will, therefore, be necessary for our government to establish credits for this purpose. These debts may never be paid in full and might, like the war debts after World War I, become a source of irritation between nations."[5] He recalled that in the first years of this century the United States had converted $16 million of its share of the international indemnity levied against China after the Boxer Rebellion to support the education of Chinese youth

in China and in the United States. The program, he felt, had proved to be "one of the most successful of our international policies."[6] Later he read into the record a letter from Herbert Hoover in which Hoover recalled how funds resulting from the liquidation of the Belgium Relief Commission in 1920 had been used to set up the Belgian-American Educational Foundation for the exchange of Belgian and American students. Between 1920 and 1945 some seven hundred students had been exchanged. In 1939 almost a quarter of the faculty members in Belgian universities were former participants. Other alumni included a prime minister and six cabinet members.[7]

Fulbright put the language of his bill, an amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944, in the simplest possible terms. "The bill was potentially controversial," he explained later, "and I decided not to take the risk of an open appeal to the idealism of my colleagues ...It occurred to me that the less attention the matter got the greater would be the chance of victory for idealism."[8] The bill authorized the Secretary of State to enter into an agreement with any foreign government buying surplus property to use credits arising from the sale to finance "studies, research, instruction, and other educational activities of or for American citizens in schools and institutions of higher learning" in the country in question or to furnish "transportation for citizens of such foreign country who desire to attend...schools and institutions of higher learning in the ...United States." The bill stipulated that no individual agreement should provide for the spending of more than $20 million for this purpose, or of more than $1 million annually. It also stipulated the creation of a Board of Foreign Scholarships, appointed by the President, "for the purpose of selecting students and educational institutions qualified to participate...and to supervise the exchange program." The board was to consist of 10 members, serving without compensation, drawn from "cultural, educational, student and war veterans groups and including representatives of the United States Office of Education, the United States Veterans' Administration, State educational institutions, and privately endowed educational institutions." Including provisions for annual reports to Congress, and other details, the bill was less than two pages long. It passed the House and Senate with little notice and no debate in late July of 1946 and was signed by President Truman, with Fulbright standing beside him, on August 1, 1946.[9]

It was 2 years before all the parts of an operating program fell into place and the first award recipients were selected. Little could be done until the Board of Foreign Scholarships was constituted in 1947. Its members were distinguished. General Omar Bradley represented the veterans. Teaching and research were represented by Helen C. White, Professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, Walter Johnson, Professor of History at the University of Chicago, and Ernest O. Lawrence, Professor of Physics at the University of California, Berkeley. Academic administrators on the board included Sarah Gibson Blanding, President of Vassar. Also a member was Laurence Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education.[10]

At its first meeting on October 8 and 9, 1947, the board voted to invite the U.S. Office of Education to help in screening applications for grants from elementary and secondary school teachers, the Institute of International Education to screen applications from students, and the American Council on Education to screen applicants wishing to teach in American schools overseas. The four councils of learned societies constituting the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils were "to undertake...administrative responsibilities for the exchange program... as it involve(d) professors, research workers and specialists on the higher education

levels". The organizations so approached were asked to submit plans for the implementation of their part of the Fulbright Program for consideration by the board at its next meeting in December.[11]

The Conference Board had been established in 1944 by the National Research Council, the Social Science Research Council, and the American Council of Learned Societies to provide for the discussion of matters which were of common concern to the councils and to provide the means of joint action when this was desirable. The American Council on Education became a member in 1946. The board met at intervals of several months. From the beginning, a leading concern of the Conference Board was the husbanding and nurture of the nation's stock of research scholars and scientists. One of the Conference Board's most active committees was the Committee on Specialized Personnel, chaired by Dr. M. H. Trytten, Director of the National Research Council's Office of Scientific Personnel. On October 2, 1947, 4 days before the meeting of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the Conference Board raised the question whether the references in the Fulbright Act to schools and institutions of higher learning meant that mature scholars who were no longer enrolled as students would be eligible for study grants. The chairman, Ross G. Harrison of the National Research Council, wrote to the Board of Foreign Scholarships on October 11 expressing the hope of the Conference Board that the act would be "interpreted broadly enough to permit...the granting of financial assistance to mature scholars and scientists who (had) no need of further formal training or degrees in institutions of higher learning."[12]

Rather than an answer to this appeal, the Conference Board received at the end of the month the request of the Board of Foreign Scholarships that it draw up a plan for the awarding of grants to senior scholars. The Conference Board's Committee on Specialized Personnel took the request under advisement, conferred with members of the staff of the Board of Foreign Scholarships and with other members of the Conference Board, and prepared a draft plan for consideration at a special meeting of the Conference Board on November 19. The plan was approved with minor modifications and submitted to the Board of Foreign Scholarships on November 24.

The plan provided for the appointment of an eight-member committee to assist the Board of Foreign Scholarships "in the selection of professors, research workers, and specialists on the higher education levels...and for advising the Board of Foreign Scholarships on projects and programs to be undertaken and institutions to be used" in the Fulbright Program. The committee would have an executive secretary "and a staff large enough to carry out the activities of the Committee," who would have the following responsibilities:

1) To carry on correspondence with applicants and with their sponsors in the United States...

2) To investigate applications and whenever possible arrange for interviews with candidates.

3) To process applications for consideration by the Committee.

4) To maintain constant liaison with the four Councils.

5) To maintain liaison with the Secretariat of the Board of Foreign Scholarships and, through the Department of State, with the Foundations in the foreign countries taking part in the Fulbright program.

6) To maintain liaison with other cooperating agencies such as the Institute of International Education and the U. S. Office of Education.

The plan anticipated the following steps in the processing of applications:

A. Proposals which originate in other countries.

Applications will be made to the local Foundation. If found acceptable by the Foundation, the proposal will be sent to the Secretariat of the Board of Foreign Scholarships.

B. Proposals originating in this country.

Applications will be sent directly to the Board of Foreign Scholarships whose Secretariat will refer to the Associated Research Councils' Committee all applications falling within the province of the Committee. The Committee will return the proposal to the Secretariat with its recommendations; if the proposal has been favorably recommended, the Secretariat will then consult the Foundation in the country involved before presenting it to the Board of Foreign Scholarships for final action.

The plan specified that "other administrative activities, such as the issuance of letters of award or rejection, payments to persons participating in the programs, etc., will be the responsibility of the Board of Foreign Scholarships and of the Foundations."[13]

In its letter of transmittal to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the Conference Board raised the question of expenses. The Conference Board understood that the Fulbright Program might last 20 years. The Conference Board would not be able to meet its Fulbright-related expenses out of private financing "over such an extended period". It planned to seek private funds to get started, but it wanted to know when government funds would be available.[14]

The Board of Foreign Scholarships approved the Conference Board's plan on December 13 and so informed the Conference Board. It told the Conference Board that the availability of government funds to pay the board's expenses was dependent on the passage of the Smith-Mundt Act, which was then before Congress, and that it hoped the board would find private financing until government funds could be allocated, which might not be before October 1, 1948. It reported that the U. S. Educational Foundation in China was already eager for American professors to teach in Chinese colleges and universities and it suggested that the Conference Board might wish to prepare application forms so that it could begin to receive applications from candidates.

At the next meeting of the Conference Board on December 18, some doubt was expressed about the implication that the Conference Board, rather than the Board of Foreign Scholarships, should receive applications, but it was agreed to leave this to later negotiations. The Committee on Specialized Personnel was instructed to seek funds from private donors to cover the cost of the first year of operation; to seek nominations for the new committee, to be known as the Committee on International Exchange of Persons; to consider the appointment of an executive secretary; and to determine the location in Washington of the new committee's offices.[15]

On February 5, 1948, a week after the signing of the Smith-Mundt Bill, the Conference Board "recorded its approval" of the membership of the Committee on International Exchange of Persons "as selected by the executives of the four Councils." Its members were as follows: Aaron J. Brumbaugh and George S. Counts, representing the American Council on Education; Mortimer Graves and Carl W. Blegen, from the American Council of Learned Societies; Pendleton Herring and Fred Eggan, representing the Social Science Research Council; and Detlev E. Bronk and M. H. Trytten, the National Research Council. The board appointed Dr. Brumbaugh as chairman of the committee and Dr. Trytten as its secretary. It noted with approval the appointment of Gordon T. Bowles as executive secretary. Finally, it agreed to designate the National Research Council as its fiscal agent for the handling of the contemplated financial contract with the Department of State. Meanwhile, the Rockefeller Foundation gave $40,000 to cover the committee's expenses and the American Council of Learned Societies administered the program until the State Department money was forthcoming.[16]

Additional elements were needed to start the program. These were the agreements with foreign governments that would convert the proceeds from the sale of surplus war equipment into fellowships and travel grants. In its negotiations with participating countries, the State Department chose an approach that was not mandated in the Fulbright Act but that had proved its worth in cultural relations with Latin America before the war. This was to vest the administration of a program in each country in an agency created for the purpose that was essentially independent of both the host government and the U. S. embassy. In the department's Latin American program, the agencies were known as *servicios*. The agencies created to administer the Fulbright Program were known variously as foundations or commissions. The first Fulbright agreement with a foreign country -- that with China -- provided for a foundation composed entirely of Americans, but with an eminent Chinese advisory panel, appointed by the Chinese government, that met with the foundation board. Every agreement signed thereafter provided for a binational foundation composed both of Americans and of nationals of the host country. When France entered the program, it set the precedent of having the numbers be equal. The American members of a foundation were appointed by the ambassador; the representatives of the host country, by the host government. The Americans normally included members of the embassy staff and private American citizens living in the country; the representatives of the host country also usually included government officials and private individuals.[17] Present-day foundations are composed in much the same way.

A German scholar has described the foundations as characteristically American instruments for the conduct of international educational and cultural relations.[18] Their role complemented that of the private organizations participating in the administration of the exchange program in the United States. The Smith-Mundt Act, passed while the Board of Foreign Scholarships was still developing a plan of operation with the Conference Board and other agencies, expressly directed that the

Secretary of State, in providing for educational exchanges, should, wherever possible provide these interchanges by using the services of existing reputable agencies which are successfully engaged in such activity."[19]

The Fulbright agreement with China was signed on November 10, 1947; an agreement with Burma, on December 22. Agreements with the Philippines and Greece were signed in March and April of 1948. By the end of 1948 agreements were also in effect with New Zealand, Belgium/Luxembourg, Italy, and the United Kingdom. Then began the solicitation of grant applications and the selection of recipients.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Department of State Bulletin, 1939, 1:492-93, quoted by Charles A. Thomson and Walter H. C. Laves, Cultural Relations and U. S. Foreign Policy (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1963), pp. 40, 41.

2. Thomson and Laves, op. cit., pp. 35-38, 198.

3. Ibid., p. 43.

4. Ibid., p. 44.

5. Haynes Johnson and Bernard M. Gwertzman, Fulbright: The Dissenter (Doubleday and Co., New York, 1968), p. 109.

6. Ibid.

7. Thomson and Laves, op. cit., p. 61.

8. Quoted by Johnson and Gwertzman, op. cit., p. 109.

9. Ibid., pp. 110, 111. The text of the Fulbright Act, Public Law 584, 79th Congress, 60 Stat. 754, is printed in full in Walter Johnson and Francis J. Colligan, The Fulbright Program: A History (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1965), pp. 329-331.

10. Johnson and Colligan, op. cit., p. 22.

11. Minutes of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, November 19, 1947; also Johnson and Colligan, op. cit., pp. 31, 32.

12. Minutes of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, November 19, 1947.

13. The text of the plan is attached to the Minutes of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, November 19, 1947.

14. Letter dated November 24, 1947, from Ross G. Harrison, Chairman of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, to Kenneth Holland, Executive Secretary of the Board of Foreign Scholarships. The text of the letter is attached to the Minutes of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, November 19, 1947.

15. Minutes of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, December 18, 1947.

16. Minutes of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, February 5, 1948.

17. The services and the educational foundations established to administer the Fulbright Program abroad are discussed by Johnson and Colligan, op. cit.,

pp. 111-116. The servicios are also described by Thomson and Laves, op. cit., pp. 50, 51.

18. C. M. B. Brann, Cultural Agreements, 1919-1960, Jahnbuch des öffentlichen Rechts der gegenwart (Tübingen, 1959), pp. 209-243, quoted by Johnson and Colligan, op. cit., p. 113.

19. Public Law 402, 80th Congress, 62 Stat. 36, Section 201.

Chapter II

THE PROGRAM GROWS TO MATURITY

The Committee on International Exchange of Persons soon was extremely busy. The Fulbright foundations in the first four countries signing agreements -- China, Burma, the Philippines, and Greece, -- made plans to receive 65 senior scholars in the 1948-49 academic year. In spite of the threat of civil war in three of the four countries, and the little time available to the committee to solicit candidates, it received 108 applications. The committee recommended 38 persons to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and 33 accepted awards. For the next academic year, when 10 countries were participants in the program, there were 771 candidates and 166 awards. The following year, with 13 countries participating, 1,580 individuals filed applications, and 206 received appointments. Over 2,000 American scholars applied for the openings that 20 countries offered in 1952-53. Table I shows the number of Americans applying for each program year since 1948 and the number of awards made.

Table I

Numbers of Applications and Awards to U. S. Participants in the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program, 1948-75

	Applications	Awards		Applications	Awards
1948-49	108	33	1962-63	1995	602
1949-50	771	166	1963-64	2045	607
1950-51	1580	206	1964-65	2451	632
1951-52	2267	226	1965-66	2253	690
1952-53	2304	328	1966-67	2109	650
1953-54	2225	391	1967-68	2098	611
1954-55	2009	409	1968-69	2397	590
1955-56	1839	411	1969-70	2261	297
1956-57	1510	380	1970-71	1346	381
1957-58	1482	419	1971-72	1780	536
1958-59	1665	435	1972-73	2400	547
1959-60	1740	445	1973-74	2563	494
1960-61	1900	493	1974-75	2774	522
1961-62	1851	572	1975-76	2629 (prelim.)	455 (prelim.)

A steady flow of foreign scholars coming to the United States also began. Approximately 100 foreign scholars received travel grants to visit the United States during the 1948-49 academic year. The number rose to 214 the following year. For 1950-51 the Fulbright foundations overseas forwarded the applications of 514 foreign scholars. After review of these by the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, the Board of Foreign Scholarships awarded travel grants to 292. The next year the number of applications increased by 40 and grants were

awarded to 372 scholars. Applications and awards since 1950 are shown in Table 2:[2]

Table 2

Numbers of Applications and Awards to Foreign Scholars in the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program, 1950-74

	Applications	Awards		Applications	Awards
1950-51	514	292	1963-64	842	687
1951-52	553	372	1964-65	797	670
1952-53	570	348	1965-66	876	695
1953-54	668	468	1966-67	845	683
1954-55	538	399	1967-68	766	639
1955-56	544	417	1968-69	794	625
1956-57	621	501	1969-70	587	424
1957-58	566	467	1970-71	519	346
1958-59	615	494	1971-72	702	508
1959-60	663	543	1972-73	723	511
1960-61	655	547	1973-74	691	495
1961-62	797	610	1974-75	678	519
1962-63	767	625			

After some experimentation with other arrangements, the committee organized two sets of advisory committees to help it evaluate U. S. candidates' qualifications. Subject-matter committees were appointed to consider professional competence. From time to time, area committees were also set up to consider the suitability of candidates' qualifications and travel plans in relation to the countries and institutions where they proposed to work. The task of evaluation was divided too finely at first, and 61 separate subject-matter committees were appointed to help select candidates for the 1950-51 program year. The next year the number was reduced to 38.[3] The system of subject-matter committees is still used, and area committees are now in regular operation. Applications for 1974-75 were referred to 49 subject-matter committees, ranging from American history to theatre arts, and to six area committees: the American Republics, East Asia and the Pacific, East Europe, Africa, Near East and South Asia, and Western Europe.

From the beginning, however, the Committee on International Exchange of Persons found that the screening of applications was a small part of its responsibility. There was a problem right away in matching American candidates to the openings that the participating countries made available. The Fulbright foundation in the Philippines and a number of the foundations in Europe were quite specific about the disciplines in which they were interested.[4] China and Burma had individual scholars in mind, with some of whom they had already been in touch.[5] It quickly became clear that the committee had to go out and recruit applicants if all available openings were to be filled. The problem did not go away as the program developed. By 1950 the committee was sending copies of program announcements to 1,000 colleges and universities, to the editors of 200 professional journals, and to hundreds of other individuals and organizations who were thought

to be in a good position to inform scholars about the Fulbright Program.[6] The mailings have increased over the years until in 1973-74 copies of 24 different leaflets filled academic mailboxes with 85,000 pieces of paper.

In 1953 the committee began compiling a register of U. S. scholars who might be approached to fill specific openings if the general announcements did not produce qualified candidates. In 1970 the register, then containing 8,000 names, was put on a computer. Today it contains the names of over 16,000 scholars who have expressed an interest in lecturing or doing research overseas and have agreed to be included in the register.

It turned out that the committee also carried a considerable responsibility for the success of the program for foreign scholars. Its position towards them resembled that of the overseas foundations towards American scholars going abroad, except that it had no control over the invitation extended to foreign scholars and it was host to about as many individuals as all the overseas foundations put together. Of 209 foreign research scholars whom the committee recommended for travel grants to the Board of Foreign Scholarships in the first half of 1950, 189 had already made connections with colleges and universities in this country and had secured the necessary dollars to support themselves during their stay, but 20 had no connections. The committee had to circulate their applications in the university community to find a home for each of them, and often financial assistance as well. In some cases four or five institutions had to be approached before the individual was accepted.[7] The following year the committee arranged university affiliations for 86 incoming scholars.[8] How the exchange program is financed has changed over the years, but finding university appointments for incoming scholars is still a problem in many cases. In 1972 the committee was able to find remunerative lecturing and research appointments for only 19 of 73 foreign scholars who were nominated for awards in this category. In the same year the committee arranged affiliation for 151 scholars receiving full or partial U. S. government maintenance grants.

American scholars applying for awards abroad, as well as foreign scholars coming here, turned to the committee for advice and help on all sorts of topics. Income taxes were a particular cause of concern. American scholars going abroad found that they were required to pay U. S. taxes on their foreign stipend. Until the Internal Revenue Service in 1954 allowed payment in foreign currency, payment had to be in dollars, and many scholars had few dollars to draw upon. Foreign scholars were subject to tax withholding at a rate of approximately 30 percent pending final calculation of their tax liability when they left the United States. This meant that many were overtaxed in the meantime and were deprived of a portion of the income to which they were entitled when they most needed it. Another cause of distress to foreign scholars was that they were required to pay Social Security taxes when it was unlikely that they would ever benefit from the Social Security system. Foreign scholars also sought help from the committee in arranging trips to Mexico or Canada, in visiting other American universities, in obtaining insurance, and in coping with visa problems.

The committee workload was very heavy. In 1952 Mortimer Graves wrote in the Bulletin of the American Council of Learned Societies:[9]

> It probably could not have been foreseen that the operation of the Fulbright Program would be such a time-consuming burden upon such a large number of people. Merely at the academic level served by the Conference Board Committee -- university teachers and research workers -- some three hundred people participate directly in the selection of candidates, in subject or country committees, etc., between five and six thousand letters of recommendation are written by individuals not themselves candidates, to say nothing of the effort put into applications by the candidates themselves, more than seventy-five per cent of whom are unsuccessful. For the time being, this voluntary effort is carried forward by enthusiasm for the enterprise, but there can already be met scholars and scientists who are refusing to participate. This immense draft on the effort and time of busy people will be justified only if the program itself turns out to be an excellent one, something that is not yet shown without a doubt.

Francis A. Young, who succeeded Gordon T. Bowles as the committee's executive secretary in 1951, quoted Mr. Graves in writing the committee's report for 1951-52, and added the comment: [10]

> .it seems probable, however, that only by making a still larger draft upon the time and effort of American scholars and their professional organizations can the standards of the program be elevated and its potentialities fully realized.

The committee originally had a professional staff of two, Gordon T. Bowles and Francis A. Young. In 1949 they were joined by Elizabeth P. Lam, and in 1951, when Dr. Young took Dr. Bowles' place as executive secretary, by Trusten W. Russell. Theodore T. Dombras, who had received his Ph.D. at Oxford on a Fulbright student award, was appointed in 1953. The total staff, including secretaries, rose from 5 in 1948 to 20 in 1949 and 30 in 1950, peaking at 54 in 1968.[11] In 1975, the staff numbered 42.

Dr. Young continued as executive secretary until his retirement in 1969. Dr. Russell retired in 1968. Dr. Lam remained on the staff until her retirement in 1971, and Dr. Dombras is still with the program. They and other staff members who joined the program in the early years -- Grace Haskins, Eleanor Leary, Sylvia Miller, Ann Carpenter, Alice Lovely, Georgene Lovecky, and Elaine Harris, to name several -- have given the program extraordinary service. Dr. Graves was afraid in 1952 that the Fulbright Program "might...break down of its own weight," and it is to the credit of the hard work and devotion of the committee staff that nothing of the sort has happened.

Dr. Young was succeeded in 1969 by John L. Landgraf, who was succeeded in turn in 1972 by Roy A. Whiteker. Thus there have been only four executive secretaries in 28 years. Turnover in the chairmanship of the committee has

been equally slow. Dr. Brumbaugh, the committee's first chairman, was succeeded in 1951 by M. H. Trytten. Dr. Trytten was the committee's energetic chairman for the next 18 years. His place was taken in 1969 by Carl Pfaffmann, Vice President of Rockefeller University, who passed the gavel in 1972 to Charles Blitzer, Assistant Secretary for History and Art at the Smithsonian Institution.

From the beginning, the Fulbright foundations overseas listed the openings they made available under two headings, lectureships and opportunities to do research. The lectureships were generally in specified fields; the research openings frequently were also. The Western European countries generally asked for more researchers than lecturers but were interested in having lecturers in certain fields, for example, American studies. Developing countries, with a dearth of research facilities and a hunger for American skills -- whether in agriculture, medicine, or the teaching of English as a second language -- chiefly wanted lecturers. The Board of Foreign Scholarships and the State Department saw the lectureships, particularly in American studies, as a significant opportunity for increasing understanding of the United States overseas. The committee, understanding that active research is an essential part of scholarly interchange, did not wish the merits of research awards to be overlooked. Moreover, as Dr. Trytten wrote to the chairman of the board on March 27, 1951: [12]

> There are many significant cases of individuals going abroad for research who have left behind them an extraordinarily favorable impression of their personalities and the solidity of their own research accomplishments. It is to be remarked that...normally the teacher-student relationship in foreign institutions is not one of cordial understanding but rather one of somewhat rigid formality. This is not the case with the researcher in his relationship with his colleagues. In some cases, of course, lecturers abroad, under this program, have done outstanding jobs in the classroom. The point here is merely that the value of the relationships set up by research appointees should not be underestimated.

The experience of a quarter of a century has shown that his point was valid. One can get good scholars in a program only if the professional rewards are clear, and such scholars make disproportionately large contributions to the program. A consulting firm retained by the State Department in 1972 to assess the contribution made by the Fulbright Program concluded after interviewing 121 former award recipients "that research grants had significantly more potential than lectureships for bringing about continued communication and institutional ties, increasing both the domestic and foreign impact which resulted from a grant." [13]

In 1951 the Board of Foreign Scholarships pressed for direct recruitment of faculty to fill lecturing posts where the regular open competition was unlikely to produce enough good candidates. The committee saw a threat in this to the principle of open competition, and again Dr. Trytten wrote to the board (July 26, 1951): [14]

> The Committee believes...that the present system of open competition and limited recruitment has achieved important results, particularly in certain countries... Among these are the opportunity given to scholars freely to express their interests, the safeguards provided against selection of grantees on the basis of "who knows whom", the strong support now being given to the program by the academic public, and the prevailing belief among scholars that the Fulbright program seeks to provide opportunities for the professional development of grantees as an important aim, rather than merely to mobilize scholarship in the national interest or in the interest of the participating countries. The Committee recommends, therefore, that a system of open competition for awards should be retained...at this time.

Noting that the use of Fulbright lecturers as opinion makers continued to appeal to some in the State Department and Congress, Dr. Trytten wrote on March 27, 1952, to the board to defend the Fulbright Program from being used for political purposes:[15]

> It has seemed to us and I am sure also to you that there may be mounting pressures to make the program serve more directly and immediately as an instrument of propaganda. ...Our committee has discussed this matter at various times and certain points have been made which it may be useful to you to have...
>
> The extension of an invitation by a foreign university to lecture is not to be taken lightly. If even a serious suspicion were to be raised that the purpose of this program at this end is to provide an opportunity for Americans to present the American point of view as an instrument of the State Department's information program, these universities would be put in a position before their own countrymen which they could not afford to endure.
>
> The attitude of the academic public in the United States is an important one in the effectiveness of the venture. It seems to us fair to state that the Fulbright program has enthusiastic support from the academic public at the present time and as presently conceived. It would be difficult successfully to change the nature of the program in the direction of an information program without having that fact become apparent to the academic public in the country. ...It seems to us doubtful that this new orientation would meet with substantial approval and certainly could not avoid a certain amount of frank discussion which itself would have repercussions abroad. It would

make the role of the research councils certainly more difficult, if not impossible, if in fact the reactions to a more directed type of program were to become strong enough.

Pressure to use the Fulbright Program as an instrument of propaganda weakened over the next year or so, and the committee's annual reports do not record that the committee has had serious apprehensions on this score since.

The committee developed in 1952 a system of direct recruitment whereby an American scholar whose participation in the program was particularly desired was screened in advance by the appropriate review committees, was then nominated by the Committee on International Exchange of Persons to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, was approved by the prospective host foundations overseas, and was provisionally selected by the Board of Foreign Scholarships before he or she was approached by the committee and formally invited to consider an appointment.[16]

For the 1955-56 program year in the Northern Hemisphere and the 1956-57 program year in the Southern Hemisphere, participating countries offered 397 awards for American scholars. Of this number, 159 (40 percent) were opportunities for research and 238 (60 percent) were lectureships. Of the lectureships, 82 (21 percent of all the awards for which the committee was asked to nominate candidates) were filled by some form of recruitment. Nineteen of the lectureships were in American studies, the remainder in a variety of fields from industrial engineering to workers' education.[17]

Eighteen years later the pattern had not greatly changed. Sixty-six percent of the awards for 1973-74 were lectureships. The committee recruited for about 25 percent of announced openings. Virtually no recruiting was required for Western Europe; Israel, Australia, New Zealand, or Japan, but in other areas the proportion of openings filled through recruitment varied between 20 and 50 percent.[18]

Throughout the history of the Fulbright Program the largest number of awards for American scholars have been in the humanities and education. For the 1955-56 program year in the Northern Hemisphere and the 1956-57 program year in the Southern Hemisphere 47 percent of the candidates the committee recommended were in the humanities and education, 29 percent were in the social sciences, and 24 percent were in the natural sciences and engineering.[19] Ten years later, in 1966-67, the humanities were still in the lead with 46 percent of recommended candidates, but the natural sciences with 29 percent had overtaken the social sciences with 25 percent. In 1970-71 the standings were the same but the humanities had slipped to 43 percent, the social sciences had dropped another few points to 23 percent, and the natural sciences and engineering had risen to 34 percent.[20]

A more significant change has been in the percentage of awards tenable in Western Europe compared with other parts of the world. In 1950-51, when the great majority of the countries participating in the Fulbright Program were European, Europe was host to something like 84 percent of American award recipients. About 14 percent went to East Asia (Burma, the Philippines, New Zealand), and about 2 percent or so went to universities in the British colonies. Table 3 shows how the geography of the program has changed over the years.

Table 3

Distribution of Awards for American Scholars, by Area of the World [21]

	1955-56	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76
Western Europe	59.4%	56.2%	40.0%	40.4%	45.8%
Eastern Europe			1.0%	5.3%	6.7%
East Asia, Pacific	21.4%	17.6%	14.5%	15.5%	19.6%
Near East, South Asia	13.2%	14.3%	24.1%	10.5%	10.6%
Africa	1.4%	1.4%	3.0%	7.3%	6.7%
American Republics	4.6%	10.5%	17.4%	21.0%	10.6%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The program would have remained an exchange program with Europe and the Far East if the Fulbright Act of 1947 had continued to be the sole authority under which it operated, for that was where surplus American military equipment was left at the end of the war. The program would also have expired long ago, because the surplus property has long been sold and the proceeds spent. New legislation broadened the range of the program and ensured its permanency.

The Fulbright Act was joined on the statute books almost immediately by the Smith-Mundt Act, passed in January 1948. The Smith-Mundt Act was the final outcome of legislative proposals that had been put forward as early as 1946 to extend worldwide the cultural relations program that the State Department had started with Latin America before the war. Unlike Senator Fulbright's bill, the Smith-Mundt bill, introduced by Representative (later Senator) Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota and cosponsored by Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, aroused fierce debate and was passed only after a joint congressional committee had been sent to Europe to see how seriously the United States was misunderstood abroad.[22] The act provided for both an information service "to disseminate abroad information about the United States" and an educational exchange service "to cooperate with other nations in...interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills;...the rendering of technical and other services;...the interchange of developments in the field of education, the arts, and sciences."[23] It enabled the State Department to arrange scholarly exchanges with countries not covered by the Fulbright Act and to add dollar awards to Fulbright awards made in foreign currencies.

The Smith-Mundt Act did not ascribe a role to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, but the State Department officials responsible for administering the Smith-Mundt programs followed the lead of the board in turning to the Conference Board for help in screening candidates for awards. By 1950-51 some 40 percent of the foreign scholars coming to the United States to whom the Committee on International Exchange of Persons had a responsibility received some or all of their support in the United States from Smith-Mundt dollars.[24] By 1955 the committee was screening applications from scholars in 10 non-Fulbright countries and was helping to choose American scholars to receive Smith-Mundt awards in 14.[25]

In 1949 the Finnish Educational Exchange Act converted Finnish war debts to educational purposes, and 3 years later the Mutual Security Act of 1952, at

Senator Fulbright's suggestion,[26] included a provision amending the Fulbright Act so that any foreign currencies held by the United States, not merely proceeds from the sale of surplus property, could be used for Fulbright awards. In 1954 the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act enlarged the scope of the Fulbright Act still further by allowing the use of foreign currencies resulting from the sale of surplus agricultural commodities. As a consequence, by 1960 the committee, under the provisions of one statute or another, was involved with scholars traveling to 36 foreign nations and coming from 48.

In 1961 the Fulbright-Hays Act, sponsored by Senator Fulbright and Representative Wayne Hays of Ohio, consolidated the legislation on the books and simplified its provisions. It put the Board of Foreign Scholarships in charge of selecting students, scholars, and teachers participating in educational exchanges under the act, endorsed the use of binational (and multinational) foundations, and encouraged "foreign governments, international organizations and private individuals, firms, associations, agencies, and other groups" to participate in the administration of the act "to the maximum extent feasible," and to contribute to its purposes financially. The act also dealt with a number of nuisance problems, such as the manner and extent to which award recipients should be liable for taxes.

Since 1961, 23 countries have volunteered to share in the cost of the exchange program. While most have offered to pay between 10 and 50 percent, the Federal Republic of Germany has set its contribution as high as 70 percent.

Today the number of countries sending scholars to the United States and receiving American scholars in return has grown to 90. The committee, which in 1973 renamed itself the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, is in correspondence each year with almost as many countries as the State Department itself. Many did not exist as independent states when the Fulbright Act was passed in 1947. In 1974-75 there were 19 participating countries in Western Europe; the USSR was one of 5 participating countries in Eastern Europe; 16 countries in Central and South America were in the program; participating countries in East Asia and the Pacific numbered 14; there were another 14 participating countries in the Near East, North Africa, and South Asia; and Africa south of the Sahara contributed 22 participant countries. Each country, whether it offers 1 award or 40, states its wishes with more or less specificity, and the committee (now the council) is carefully attentive to each. The reviewing work load, which Dr. Mortimer Graves noted with alarm in 1952, has by no means diminished.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Figures are from the annual reports of the Committee on International Exchange of Persons (CIEP) and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars. The figures for some years are open to discussion because the annual reports are not always consistent about the statistics for previous years. The number of American applicants for 1949-50 is taken from a report quoted in the Minutes of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, November 3, 1949.

2. Ibid.

3. Elizabeth P. Lam, History of the Committee on International Exchange of Persons (Manuscript), Chapter II, p. 5.

4. Minutes of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, November 3, 1949.

5. Minutes of the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils, June 2, 1948.

6. (CIEP), Summary of Operations in the Fulbright Program (1948-50), June 1950, p. 2.

7. CIEP, Progress Report, April 1, 1950 - June 30, 1950, p. 2.

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17. CIEP, Semi-Annual Progress Report for the Period January 1, 1955 - June 30, 1955.

18. CIEP, Annual Report to the Board of Foreign Scholarships, 1972-73, p. 12 and Appendix I.

19. CIEP, Semi-Annual Progress Report for the Period January 1, 1955 - June 30, 1955, Table IV.

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21. CIEP, Semi-Annual Reports for July 1 - December 31, 1955, p. 4; for January 1 - June 30, 1960, Table II; and for January 1 - June 30, 1965, Table II; Annual Report for 1969 - 1970, Table II; and Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES), Annual Report for 1974-75, Appendix I.

22. Charles A. Thomson and Walter H. C. Laves, Cultural Relations and U. S. Foreign Policy (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1963), pp. 65-69.

23. Public Law 402, 80th Congress, 62 Stat. 36, Section 2.

24. CIEP, Summary of the Committee's Activities, Fiscal Year 1951-52, p. 5.

25. CIEP, Semi-Annual Progress Report for the Period July 1, 1955 - December 31, 1955, p. 4.

26. Quoted by Johnson and Colligan, op. cit., p. 89.

Chapter III

MAINTAINING THE PROGRAM

When in 1948 and 1949 the Committee on International Exchange of Persons issued its first program announcements to the academic community, it offered American scholars an opportunity that had been denied to them for 10 years. War in Europe and later in Asia had made conditions unsafe for the traveling scholar, if indeed he could travel at all. The Fulbright Program arranged a welcome for him again abroad and gave him the means to travel and study there. Many prominent scholars applied for and received awards.

Lillian Penson, Vice Chancellor of the University of London and a charter member of the Fulbright commission in London, wrote in 1954 applauding the American scholars in Britain: "The grantees have been of very high calibre. ...The Fulbright scholars both senior and junior have...established a reputation which has been a factor of major importance in the execution of the programme."[1] As we have seen, however, the committee in Washington did not always find it easy to match good candidates with the openings which participating countries made available. As early as 1952 the committee was regretting that not all scholars selected were in fields to which the receiving universities attached especial importance or were "in all cases as highly qualified as could be desired."[2]

A difficulty that the committee had not anticipated was that of evaluating candidates in terms of their likely effectiveness abroad. Scholars' competence in their disciplines did not guarantee that they would make good visitors in foreign universities. Even in Britain, where an American might be expected to have little problem adjusting, there were some "misfits." The possibility that scholars might not make successful visitors was much greater in areas like the Middle East and Asia, where they found themselves in entirely different cultures. In 1953 the committee obtained funds from The Ford Foundation to conduct a study of the operation of the exchange program in two countries, India and Iraq, which might be taken as typical of countries posing adjustment problems, and of the factors, including personal factors, that led some scholars to have a better year there than others. Dr. Gordon MacGregor, an anthropologist, was employed as a research associate to conduct the study under the guidance of the committee's area advisory committees for the Near East and South Asia. He devoted the next 2 full years to the project and prepared two reports, of which the first was issued in December 1955, and the second in April 1957.

Dr. MacGregor interviewed a sample of [redacted] scholars who had held awards in India, Iraq, and Egypt and 6 who were on their way there. He concluded that, except for those few eminent scholars who were accepted abroad because of established reputations, the success of every grantee was "proportionate to his ability to establish rapport with his students and colleagues, largely by making clear his friendly interest and by developing an understanding of their country and their way of life." These qualities were "even more essential than scholarship or ability in lecturing to the success of a Fulbright scholar." He also concluded that awards for research usually provided greater personal and professional satisfaction than lecturing awards and that as a group research scholars fulfilled "as well as, if

not better than, lecturers the goals of the Fulbright program in the exchange of knowledge in academic and cultural fields. ...Research, instead of confining a scholar's interest to a specialized problem, to a narrow area of scholarship, or to some very limited aspect of the life of a nation, as is frequently assumed, has stimulated or required extensive travel and contact with many people of different interests and in different walks of life." He recommended that the potentialities and advantages of research awards be given greater recognition and that a larger number of research awards be included in the annual programs of countries in the Near East and South Asia.[3]

In 1961 Leonard Goodwin began a study for the committee of methods of predicting which candidates for awards would adapt best in a different culture. A panel of judges was asked to make two sets of predictions about the effectiveness of 50 professors who had been selected for awards in India, Pakistan, and Korea in 1962-63. The first predictions were based on the information that the committee had had before it when it recommended the grantees to the Board of Foreign Scholarships. The second set were made after the judges were given additional information. This included referees' answers to questions about the grantees' community activities, how well they understood people holding beliefs different from their own, and how well they accepted rejection of their own ideas; the grantees' own answers to questions about their probable response to problem situations overseas; and reports of interviews with the grantees (and with their spouses if they were married). The two sets of predictions were compared with ratings of the grantees' subsequent effectiveness abroad made by a second panel of judges. The results showed that correlations between prediction and performance were low but that a personal interview and additional information from referees would help screening committees to predict a candidate's effectiveness abroad. On the other hand some panel members were much better than others at predicting effectiveness, and whether a grantee was actually effective or not was also a matter about which judges disagreed.[4] The study's findings did not mandate definite changes, but in 1963 the committee began giving candidates two ratings, one a rating of their professional competence, and the other of their probable effectiveness abroad.[5]

The Board of Foreign Scholarships was interested to know how well standards were being maintained in the selection of American grantees, and in 1963 it asked the committee to look at the question of quality. The committee compared its ratings of scholars holding awards in 1962-63 with the ratings of scholars receiving awards in 1957-58. It found that the rating of all grantees had dropped slightly, confirming a prevailing impression that the quality of grantees had declined. There were differences, however, in the ratings of grantees going to different parts of the world. Grantees going to Australia and New Zealand ranked highest, and their rating had improved somewhat. The quality of the much larger contingent going to Europe had dropped slightly, as had the quality of those going to Asia and the Near East. By contrast, the average rating of those going to Latin America had increased a little.

The committee believed that one reason for the decline in quality was that the program had been expanding faster than the number of applicants. "In other words," it wrote, "the trouble was not that the quality of the applicants as a group was getting poorer, but that the number of applicants was not increasing as fast as the program was expanding." The committee's statistics bear this out only partially. There were 30 percent more awards in 1962-63 than in 1957-58, but applicants had increased only 25 percent. However, the number of highly recommended candidates had increased by 44 percent and the number of acceptable candidates by 36 percent.

The difficulty was that the number of outstanding candidates had increased by a mere 11 percent.[6]

The number of American scholars applying for awards reached a peak in 1963 and dropped 8 percent the following year, from 2,451 candidates for the 1964-65 program year to 2,253 for 1965-66. The committee noticed an alarming drop in the number of outstanding candidates applying to Europe. While preliminary figures indicated that the total number of applications to Europe was down 22 percent, the number of outstanding candidates was down a hefty 42 percent. The failure of the program to attract sufficient numbers of outstanding scholars was now unmistakable.

The committee ascribed the failure to the changing character of the awards offered by the Fulbright foundations in Europe. The newer British universities, for example, seemed interested in obtaining "bright young men rather than outstanding academicians" and there was growing demand for expertise in such fields as "polio rehabilitation (and) the planning of curricula for the teaching of science by television." The committee thought that maybe in such specific fields "competent men are almost as acceptable as outstanding ones," but it recognized that outstanding scholars might now feel that the competitive odds were against them. "Not a few of our outstanding scholars doubtless have in mind other considerations, among which would certainly be the availability of foundation grants to top-flight academicians interested in overseas assignments, grants that are often more attractive financially and sometimes more readily secured than Fulbright-Hays awards. Whatever the explanation, they are in greater numbers signifying their unwillingness to enter the competitions, to fill out the required forms, and --most frequently--to supply references."[7]

Figures compiled by the Institute for International Education show that many American scholars did not need Fulbright awards to get to Europe. In 1964-65 some 1,900 American faculty members spent a month or more in Europe on leave from their institutions. At most only 15 percent held Fulbright awards. Five years before the number of faculty going to Europe totaled 1,200, and it is probable that up to 18 percent went as Fulbright scholars.[8]

In 1967 the committee looked again at the question of quality to see whether the decline recorded earlier had continued. It found that the decline in the average rating of all grantees had bottomed out in 1965-66 and that there had been a small recovery in 1966-67.[9]

In fiscal year 1968 the budget for the Fulbright-Hays Program was cut sharply, and it was cut again the following year. As a result, the number of awards available to American scholars dropped from as many as 690 in 1965-66 to 297 in 1969-70.[10] The number of scholars receiving awards to Western Europe, which had totaled 220 in 1959-60 and run as high as 250 in 1968-69, dropped to 116 in 1969-70. Watching the decline in awards, the committee expected the competition for awards to stiffen and the quality of grantees to rise, but in the case of Western Europe, at least, this was not so. Research awards rather than lecturing awards were sacrificed to the budget axe, and this discouraged the best candidates. Other factors, however, were also present: the program in France was shifted from the senior category to one for junior lecturers, the United Kingdom program was eliminated, and grants were issued later than usual. For a variety of reasons, the little band who went to Western Europe in 1969-70 were not as distinguished professionally as those who were there in 1968-69.[11]

The next year the program received more generous funding, but the cutbacks apparently scared off candidates and there were fewer applicants for 1970-71 than for any year since 1949-50. It took another year before applications resumed their previous levels. Table 4 shows the number of new awards made each year (as distinct from the number of awards offered) since 1968-69.

Table 4

Number of New Awards to U. S. Nationals, by Year

	Awards
1968-69	590
1969-70	297
1970-71	381
1971-72	536
1972-73	546
1973-74	496
1974-75	520
1975-76	371 (prelim.)

In 1972-73, when according to the Institute for International Education there were nearly 4,000 American faculty in Europe and over 1,500 in other parts of the world, the Fulbright-Hays Program sponsored hardly more than 6 percent of those in Europe. By contrast, it provided support to as many as 21 percent of those going elsewhere. Its greatest relative impact, perhaps rightly, was in countries far removed from those where Fulbright first became an honored name.

The Fulbright-Hays Program may have paid a penalty, however, for this shift of emphasis. Because it has fewer means to help American scholars go where they would most like to pursue their work, it is not looked on as an important instrument for the support of scholarship. The committee has to some extent conceded this. "The academic reputation of a Fulbright award is apparently solid everywhere," it wrote in 1971, but it added: "In general the Fulbright-Hays program has been an inconspicuous part of both governmental foreign affairs and of academia in America."[12]

The support the program has given to American scholars going abroad, like the support it has given foreign scholars coming here, may have made a larger contribution to foreign scholarship than to scholarship in America. Prime examples are the encouragement it has given to American studies and to the application of linguistic theory to the teaching of English as a foreign language. From the very earliest days of the Fulbright Program the foundations overseas saw in the program an opportunity to promote American studies as a field of scholarship in their countries' universities and to improve the quality of instruction in English. In Britain, for example, the Fulbright commission turned to the program in 1951 to fill the Harmsworth Professorship of American History at Oxford and in 1952, using Fulbright funds, launched a series of annual American studies conferences attended by British scholars and by scholars, authors, and journalists from the United States.

In the Philippines, where English rather than Tagalog was the language most commonly used in business, awards were set aside from the beginning to bring English teaching specialists to improve the training of English teachers. There are many such examples.

The Committee on International Exchange of Persons, at the urging especially of Mortimer Graves, recommended to the Board of Foreign Scholarships in 1952 that the effort to improve English teaching abroad should not be allowed to proceed piecemeal, but should aim at coordinated, lasting effects, and that full use should be made of modern linguistic theory. The board adopted a resolution early in 1953 to the effect that Fulbright foundations should be encouraged to use English teaching specialists in positions where they would have the greatest influence, for example in a liaison capacity with officials of the Ministry of Education and with leaders in the field of language teaching.13

The committee established an advisory committee for linguistics and the teaching of English that quickly assumed an active role in program planning. In 1957, with the help of a grant from The Ford Foundation, it sponsored a 3-day conference at Ann Arbor to discuss the application of linguistic techniques to the teaching of English as a foreign language, the development of teaching materials, and the status of linguistic research. Former Fulbright scholars reported on their work abroad. The proceedings were published in a special issue of Language and Learning, and 4,000 copies were distributed overseas as a guide to foreign educational planners.

One result of the conference was a proposal to establish in Washington a Center for Applied Linguistics to serve as a clearinghouse for universities and other agencies with an interest in the teaching of English as a second language. A grant of $200,000 was obtained from The Ford Foundation and the center came into being in 1959. Charles A. Ferguson of the Middle East Institute at Harvard was appointed director. The center first occupied offices adjoining those of the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, but the committee asked the Modern Language Association to assume formal sponsorship, and the next year, needing more space, the center moved to other quarters.14

In the early 1950's, the committee also appointed an Advisory Committee for American Studies, but its role initially was chiefly that of screening candidates. In 1962, however, the Board of Foreign Scholarships and the State Department provided funds so that the Advisory Committee's membership could be enlarged, its staff support increased, and its scope broadened. One of the recommendations made at the first meeting of the reconstituted committee in January 1962 was that members should serve as regional consultants and accept lecturing assignments in their regions to acquaint themselves firsthand with the state of American Studies overseas and the needs to be met. During the next few years, members traveled abroad on a number of occasions, meeting university people in their region, members of the Fulbright foundations, and embassy officials. By 1968, the advisory committee was actively "gathering and reporting information on the teaching of American studies in foreign universities, advising on the long-term development of country programs, serving as a clearinghouse for information on the availability of leading American scholars for lecturing and consulting assignments overseas, and maintaining liaison and establishing coordination between the Conference Board Committee and government and private agencies engaged in activities related to American studies."15

Another step taken by the Advisory Committee was to start a newsletter, American Studies News, to keep foreign scholars informed about publications and activities in the field, to inform American scholars about lecturing opportunities abroad, and to inform the academic community generally about the exchange program in American studies. It made its first appearance in August 1962 and was published three times annually until 1969, when budget cuts forced a suspension. In 1970 it was revived with a new format and a new title, American Studies: An International Newsletter. Its administration was transferred to the American Studies Association in 1975, and the newsletter is currently distributed under the title American Studies International to 13,000 recipients, about half in this country and half abroad.

English has long been an international language, and it is not easy to say how much the Fulbright Program has contributed to its dominance, but the contribution of the Fulbright Program to the spread of American studies is clear. The head of an Oxford college wrote in 1954 cautioning American scholars about the state of American studies in Britain: "The number of British students, at the present moment of writing, who wish to study American History at the advanced level is strictly limited. . . . Care ought to be taken . . . to warn visiting professors intending to lecture on this subject of the difficulties which they may face."[16] Five years later the number of British faculty members wishing to attend the annual American studies conference sponsored by the Fulbright commission in London was five times greater than the number of places available. By 1971, 33 British universities offered courses in American subjects. One would expect American studies to take root most readily in Britain, but they have also spread vigorously elsewhere. In 1967, for example, the head of the English department at Delhi University declared that the study of American literature had come of age in India and there was no longer any need to defend its inclusion in the curriculum. In 1968 in France there were some 70 full-time professors and associates in the universities teaching American literature and civilization, of whom at least 41 were former Fulbright students or scholars. About 140 French university students were working on doctoral dissertations in American studies. The annual reports of the Committee on International Exchange of Persons indicate that American studies have bloomed in the same profusion in country after country.

The committee has not been as much concerned about the quality of foreign scholars coming here as about that of American scholars going abroad, perhaps because it receives the applications of the former after they have already been screened by the overseas commissions. Some evidence that their qualifications are high is provided by the large proportion receiving financial support from their host universities. In 1950-51, American universities gave fellowships or salaried appointments to 43 percent.[17] The universities were obviously pleased with their guests, for by 1966-67 they were supporting as many as 80 percent, many of whom were invited to stay for a second or third year.[18] Since, the budgetary constraints have stood in the way of the universities' being so welcoming, and the proportion of foreign scholars receiving university stipends has fallen back to about 40 percent. Fortunately funding from foreign sources has been growing so that now it provides 30 percent or so of the foreign scholars' dollar support in the United States. Table 5 shows the changing support picture since 1954-55.

Table 5

Sources of Financial Support of Foreign Fulbright Scholars

	1954-55	1964-65	1974-75
U. S. universities	$ 586,481	$4,890,500	$1,983,563
U. S. foundations	112,230	149,054	51,025
U. S. government	210,240	496,109	958,307
Foreign sources	142,000	346,342	1,371,858
Other	14,710	37,827	42,867
	$1,065,661	$5,919,832	$4,407,620

The foreign scholars as a group have always differed significantly from the American scholars in that the great majority have come to do research, not to lecture. In 1952-53, for example, those coming for research comprised 76 percent; in 1959-60, 79 percent; in 1964-65, 74 percent; in 1966-67, 73 percent; and in 1974-75, 84 percent. The tightness of the academic job market in the last few years has contributed to keeping down the percentage of lecturers.

The foreign scholars have also differed in the high proportion who are in the natural sciences. Table 6 shows the percentages of incoming scholars in the natural sciences, the humanities, and the social sciences (including education) for selected years since 1951-52.

Table 6

Percentages of Foreign Fulbright Scholars by Broad Field

	1951-52	1964-65	1966-67	1969-70	1974-75
Natural sciences	64.8%	61.8%	58.3%	49.5%	48.7%
Humanities	18.7%	21.8%	21.1%	19.8%	18.7%
Social sciences	16.5%	16.4%	20.6%	30.7%	32.6%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The drift away from the natural sciences is exaggerated here, for in 1969-70 large numbers of foreign scholars in education, law, and social work came only to attend short-term seminars and in 1974-75, if foreign scholars extending their stay are added to incoming scholars, the percentage in the natural sciences was still about 55 percent.

The proportion of foreign scholars coming for short stays has increased since the late 1950's, as Table 7 shows.

Table 7

Distribution of Duration of Tenure of Foreign Fulbright Scholars

	1953-54	1959-60	1969-70	1974-75
9 - 12 months	58.1%	75.5%	64.5%	46.6%
6 - 8 months	16.5%	10.9%	7.8%	8.9%
3 - 5 months	25.4%	13.4%	11.8%	24.7%
Under 3 months	-	0.2%	17.9%	19.8%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The committee has always been concerned not to let all the foreign scholars congregate at a handful of leading universities. In 1951-52, 65 scholars (17 percent) were in Boston and Cambridge, 56 of them at Harvard and MIT. Another 45 (12 percent) were in New York City, 25 of them at Columbia. By 1964-65 the scholars were somewhat more evenly distributed, but Massachusetts, New York State, and California among them still had 43 percent. In 1972-73 these states had 33 percent.

It is interesting to compare these figures with statistics compiled by the Institute of International Education on foreign scholars in the United States. In 1972-73, when incoming Fulbright-Hays scholars and Fulbright-Hays scholars staying a second or third year numbered 639, the institute recorded 10,848 foreign scholars in this country. Of this total, 35 percent -- virtually the same proportion as of Fulbright-Hays scholars -- were located in Massachusetts, New York State, and California.[19]

In 1951 the John Hay Whitney Foundation began offering lectureships to be awarded in open competition to foreign scholars, preferably in the humanities, interested in teaching at colleges and universities in the South, the Midwest, the Rocky Mountain States, and the Pacific Northwest.[20] Four years later the State Department made available Smith-Mundt funds to pay for brief lecture tours by a limited number of foreign scholars in states rarely receiving Fulbright lecturers.[21] In 1965 the committee started distributing an annual list, Foreign Scholars Available under the Fulbright-Hays Act for Remunerative Appointments in U. S. Colleges and Universities, for the purpose, among others, "of increasing the participation of a larger number of smaller colleges and universities in the educational exchange program."[22] But no doubt more effective in the long run than these and other efforts to spread the foreign scholars more widely has been the increase in excellence of many U. S. institutions.

Almost from the beginning, it was apparent that the foreign scholars coming here could profit from an opportunity to discuss their perceptions of the United States with U. S. colleagues. In 1952 the committee sought funds from the Carnegie Corporation and the Hazen Foundation to support two small conferences for foreign scholars at the end of their stay. Two very successful conferences were held at the end of the academic year in 1953, one at Haverford College and the other at the headquarters of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in New York. A. J. Brumbaugh said of the Haverford gathering: "Never has the writer experienced

a more fruitful conference." The foreign participants at the New York meeting passed a resolution urging that similar conferences be held every year. Since then, with State Department support gradually replacing foundation support, the committee has sponsored a lengthening series of conferences of greater and greater variety -- some at the end of the foreign scholars' stay, some at the beginning for purposes of orientation, and some in the middle. The following list of conferences held in 1966-67 under its auspices illustrates the range of the committee's role as a conference organizer:

August 29 - September 1, 1966

Orientation conference in New York City for visiting lecturers. The participants included 42 foreign scholars and 41 Americans.

September 6-9, 1966

Orientation conference in Seattle for scholars from Japan. Twenty-eight Japanese scholars attended.

November 27-30, 1966, and March 19-22, 1967

Two conferences in Washington on "The National Government and its People," each attended by 75 foreign scholars.

March 29-May 12, 1967

Seminar on Higher Education in the Americas, attended by 20 participants from 11 Latin American countries. The seminar opened at the University of New Mexico, moved to the University of Kansas in April, and concluded with a program in Washington, D. C.

March 26-April 7, 1967

Seminar on student personnel services for college officials from Asia, attended by 18 participants from six countries. The seminar was hosted by Earlham College and the University of Indiana.

June 18-21, 1967

Conference at Duke University on medical education, attended by 53 scholars from 24 countries.

March 18-22, June 7-10, and June 14-17, 1967

Three conferences on higher education, successors to the two conferences held at the end of the 1952-53 academic year. The conferences were held at San Francisco State College, Syracuse University, and the University of Michigan.

In 1972-73 the list was somewhat shorter, although the range was equally broad.

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Chapter IV

ORGANIZATIONAL COMPLEXITIES

The arrangements made in 1947 for the administration of the Fulbright Program remained unchanged to the end of 1975. The administration of the program for senior scholars depends on the effective cooperation of four sets of people, each with its own responsibilities. First there is the Presidentially-appointed Board of Foreign Scholarships, which has the responsibility under the Fulbright-Hays Act of "selecting students, scholars, teachers, trainees and other persons to participate" in the program and of "supervising" it. Next there are the overseas commissions and foundations, which, under the act and by international agreement have the authority to administer the program in their respective countries, deciding what awards they will offer to American scholars and which of their own scholars they will nominate for awards in the United States. Guiding the overseas commissions and providing staff support to the Board of Foreign Scholarships are the staff of the State Department, including the staff of the Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, headed by an assistant secretary of state and the embassy staffs overseas. Completing the quadrilateral have been the Conference Board and its Committee on International Exchange of Persons, on whom the Board of Foreign Scholarships called in 1947 to assist in the selection of award recipients and -- in the language of the plan of operation approved by the two boards -- to assist in "advising the Board of Foreign Scholarships on projects and programs to be undertaken."

Cooperation between these different elements has not been easy. The Conference Board discovered immediately that it had little say over the programs of the overseas commissions or over the character of the awards they chose to offer American scholars. The Conference Board was told what awards each country wished to make and was expected to find appropriate candidates. Nor was it consulted on such matters as the appropriate stipend to pay an American scholar going abroad, whether a lecturing award should carry a higher stipend than a research award, and so on. There was also the question of which decisions were decisions for the Board of Foreign Scholarships and which could appropriately be made by the State Department. The Conference Board's agreement was with the Board of Foreign Scholarships, but its funding -- when the Smith-Mundt Act provided the funds -- came from the State Department.

As early as October 1948, the Conference Board "discussed at length" problems that had arisen "between the Department of State and voluntary agencies -- such as the Conference Board and the Committee -- whose cooperation is requested in the handling of programs for cultural and personnel interchanges. There was a unanimous expression of opinion," the minutes record, "that cooperation in these matters must rest upon full and frank exchange of views prior to the enunciation of general policy and prior to the formulation of specific administrative rulings as well." The board voted to seek an early meeting with the assistant secretary of state responsible for the exchange program to clarify the board's relationship with the State Department and the Board of Foreign Scholarships and suggested that the Committee on International Exchange of Persons draft proposals "which should enter into a statement of policy to be presented to the Board of Foreign Scholarships."[1]

Members of the Conference Board met with the State Department, but in December Dr. Brumbaugh reported to the board that there were "continuing difficulties ...with respect to lines of communication with the Board of Foreign Scholarships",[2] and when the Conference Board looked at the situation again in February 1949 it looked worse, not better. Members of the State Department staff were taking the position that cooperating agencies could not communicate directly with the Board of Foreign Scholarships; recommendations from the committee on policy matters had not been included in the agenda of the Board of Foreign Scholarships; and committee recommendations regarding the programs of the overseas foundations had been disregarded "entirely." The Conference Board wanted to know whether the State Department was "prepared to have the cooperating agencies concern themselves with the review of Fulbright Program policies and the annual programs for individual countries, or whether the cooperating agencies are to be limited to a routinized screening function." The board voted to request a meeting with the assistant secretary of state "to ascertain definitively whether the assistance of the Conference Board is desired or whether the present arrangement should be liquidated."[3] The patience of the Conference Board was near to breaking.

Over the next several months, the Conference Board developed a better understanding with the State Department and the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and in November 1949 it looked ahead to the program for the next year "with some degree of confidence."[4] In February 1950 the Conference Board told the State Department that it would be happy to screen applicants under the Smith-Mundt Act as well as the Fulbright Act.[5]

It is not easy, however, to point to any change of substance in the relationship of the Conference Board to the State Department and the Board of Foreign Scholarships. It seems that the Conference Board and the committee got used to their limited role. When Charles Frankel gathered material in the mid-1960's for a study of the role of educational and cultural exchanges in foreign affairs, he met with the same complaints as the Conference Board had been making in 1948 and 1949. "In the discussions that I have had with them, leaders of the scholarly organizations that are represented on the Committee on International Exchange of Persons...have stated that they have the feeling, more often than not, that their organizations are confronted with plans which they have had no part in formulating." He went on: "...the plan that a Bi-National Commission presents in any given year reflects the accumulated experiences from the past, and, in particular, the comments of the Conference Board on previous plans. All this, however, is far from a process of genuine consultative planning involving the careful survey of long-range needs or the circumspect selection of key targets. Although give-and-take occurs, the definitive characteristic of the present relationship between the government and the academic community is that the latter serves primarily as a jobber for the former. At no point in the process are appropriate American scholars -- leaders in the disciplines directly concerned, spokesmen for professional societies, or area specialists -- asked to participate, in a systematic and regularized way, in the making of specific country plans. At best, they serve on screening committees, which have a subordinate function. ...At least with respect to the large category of grants for American scholars to teach abroad, if not with respect to research and study grants, the academic community remains an instrument for carrying out other people's plans."[6]

Some screening committees, as we have seen, have been permitted to shape policy -- examples are the committees for linguistics and the teaching of English and

for American studies -- and to this extent Dr. Frankel may have painted too dark a picture. On the other hand, more recent observers paint a picture that is not much different. Thus in 1971 a study team within the State Department wrote: "there is polite but widespread dissatisfaction among the [administering] agencies with the extent to which [the Department] seems to take them into its confidence. ...The agencies want to think of themselves more as partners...than as mere employees. They resent being looked upon as "service" organizations, expected to do what they are told, without needing to know why. This attitude, indeed, is not alien to some [Department] personnel. ...There is a certain tendency within [the Department] to view agency personnel as subordinates. They are seldom involved in the conceptualizing of programs in such a way as to elicit much imagination from them."[7]

In 1973 a consultant retained by the State Department to study the operation of the program for senior scholars noted that the area screening committees of the Committee on International Exchange of Persons had been given a program-planning role, but characterized the committee's charter nevertheless as "very limited." The committee, he observed, "has a contract with the Department of State to perform specified functions with no assigned policy-making or program planning responsibilities of its own." As to review of country programs, he could find "no instances where field proposals had been modified as the result of program reviews in Washington. Field sources interviewed found it difficult to recall when they had received any comments on their proposals."[8]

A factor, in itself symptomatic of the limited role assigned to the Conference Board, that has helped to prevent it from shaping policy is the lack of a planning budget. During the first decade of its existence, the Committee on International Exchange of Persons did not even have the funds to send its committee or staff members to visit the countries with which it was in correspondence. When at the request of the Board of Foreign Scholarships it planned a conference in 1956 to discuss the character of international scholarly exchanges at the senior level, funds for the purpose had to be obtained from The Ford Foundation. Walter Johnson, the former chairman of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, speaking at the conference, regretted that the committee was held on so tight a rein: "It would be wise...if the cooperating agencies could have their representatives visit regularly the countries involved. No cable or report can solve problems as quickly and constructively as an on-the-spot meeting; nor can they furnish the same insights as field consultations." He continued: "I have always considered it unfortunate that the [Committee] lacked the budget to employ a person for the exclusive task of developing program ideas. The experienced men represented in that Committee, in its screening committees, and in its secretariat, have had to concentrate on selection procedures almost to the exclusion of program planning. It would be an intelligent expenditure of funds, by the Department of State or by a foundation to enable the [Committee] to move more into the planning area not alone for the Fulbright program but for the total private and governmental exchange programs."[9]

In recent years the committee -- and its successor, the Council for International Exchange of Scholars -- have been given some funds by the State Department to work more closely with their colleagues overseas. In 1973-74, for example, the chairman and the executive secretary attended a meeting in Helsinki of the executive officers of the Fulbright commissions in Europe, and a staff member attended a Fulbright seminar in Costa Rica on higher education in the Americas. In addition, a member of the area advisory committee for the Americas visited the Fulbright

commission in Chile. Three members of the staff extended trips abroad for other purposes to visit the commissions in Britain, France, Japan, Korea, Argentina, and Uruguay.

In 1971, at the suggestion of the National Academy of Sciences staff, a coordinating committee was formed consisting of representatives of the State Department, the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, and the National Academy of Sciences. The coordinating committee has met from time to time to discuss such matters as the role of the area advisory committees, projects for foreign scholars, workload projections, operating budgets, communication with the scholarly community, and increased committee and staff travel.

Nevertheless, even with the removal of all the factors we have noted as restraints on the Conference Board's playing a more active policy role, some have questioned how active it would choose to be in urging policy questions. State Department officials told Dr. Frankel in the 1960's that the Conference Board did not intrude itself as much as it might in the planning process: "from the point of view of these officials, the failure of scholarly organizations to take active responsibility for the criticism or development of country plans is the fault of these organizations."[10] The State Department team that reviewed the exchange program in 1971 uttered the same reproach: "Even if we conclude that [State] could create a better climate for creativity on the part of the agencies, there is already room for more imagination than we are getting. The impression is fairly general within [the State Department] that none of the agencies has been very forthcoming with suggestions about possible new projects or improved programming techniques or directions... Somehow the rich lode of wisdom and experience represented by the distinguished people on agency boards and advisory bodies ought to be more noticeable in [the State Department's] dealings with the agencies."[11]

The outside consultant, however, who studied the senior scholars program in 1973 felt that almost everyone involved in its operation, both in the State Department and at the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, looked at the program too narrowly. "The conclusion reached in this study," he wrote, "is that an understanding of multiple program objectives... is largely lacking on the part of those involved in program operations. Perhaps because of the complexities involved in a multiple-objective kind of program, even relatively senior program officers tend to take an almost totally procedural attitude. The impression gained is that there is very little attention paid to the objectives of the program by those engaged in its operations."[12]

Be that as it may, the efforts of the Council for International Exchange of Scholars have been primarily directed toward evaluating the qualifications of scholars applying for awards -- and to recruiting scholars with appropriate qualifications. The council receives over a million dollars annually from the State Department to do its job and, except for occasional grants for special purposes, receives no support from other sources. Much of the council's energy is devoted to publicizing the program in the academic community, advertising the opportunities it offers, describing the application process, and explaining why things are done the way they are. Its position has been that of an advocate and mediator for the program, not a critic.

As advocate and mediator it has performed ably. The record contains no reference to any feeling on the part of the State Department, the Board of Foreign

Scholarships, or the academic community that the council, or the committee before it, has failed at any time in its duty of protecting the quality of the program. The blankness of the record in this regard, its uneventfulness, is evidence of the committee's and the council's effectiveness.

The Conference Board's championship of academic values was exemplified dramatically in 1959, when a historian was turned down for an award in Britain by the Board of Foreign Scholarships after the committee had considered him "eminently fit." It was alleged that the Board of Foreign Scholarships had rejected him on the grounds of disloyalty to the United States, loyalty then being a factor that the board took into consideration in selecting candidates. This was denied by the board and there is no evidence to believe the contrary. The board took a number of nonacademic factors into consideration in its final selection of candidates, among them being whether they had previous experience abroad. The scholar whose appointment was at issue had lectured in a number of universities abroad and had done research in Britain on a Social Science Research Council fellowship. Other historians were disturbed, however, that a suspicion of disloyalty could attach itself to a respected colleague without his having a way to defend himself. The American Association of University Professors undertook a formal inquiry, approaching both the Board of Foreign Scholarships and the Conference Board. The Conference Board immediately conceded the seriousness of the issue. "The Conference Board," its chairman declared, "has never knowingly recommended anyone considered unfit in any way to represent the United States in another country. It is because the Conference Board feels this responsibility so keenly that it is deeply concerned when its nominees are declared unacceptable by the board of Foreign Scholarships. The preliminary screening committees share this concern."[13]

Representatives of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, the State Department, and the Conference Board met 12 times or more in the summer and fall of 1959 to review the criteria used by the Board of Foreign Scholarships in its final selection of candidates and the manner in which it voted in individual cases. As a result of these discussions, the Board of Foreign Scholarships agreed to drop loyalty as a criterion in judging candidates. Henceforth a candidate's disloyalty would only be a factor in cases where it constituted a felony; the Board, naturally enough, "would not knowingly select for a grant a person who had been convicted of or is under indictment for the commission of a felony."[14] (The historian whose award had been withheld subsequently was given a Fulbright award to the United Kingdom.)

The association remained concerned about the way the Board of Foreign Scholarships judged a candidate's general suitability, but it had high praise for the Conference Board. "No complaint has come to the Association," an association representative wrote in the AAUP Bulletin, "about the composition of the screening committees, the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, or the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils. Nothing in our study of the situation suggests a need for searching inquiry, on behalf of academic freedom or of normal academic procedures. This apparently satisfactory situation is not of course unexpected; virtually all the persons constituting these groups are practicing scholars well grounded in the academic tradition. With regard to the professional secretariat that administers the business of the Conference Board, the Association's staff in Washington wishes to state its respect for that group's expert and devoted attachment to academic values."[15]

How then should we view the role of the Conference Board and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars as the academic community's representative in the administration of the program for senior scholars? Is its condition that of the patient who wishes he felt better but who really is as well as can be expected? Or is there a possibility of improvement? When the Conference Board undertook to help the Board of Foreign Scholarships in 1947, it had no experience to guide it. The Board of Foreign Scholarships had just been established, no agreement had been signed yet with a foreign country; and the Conference Board itself was a relatively new and untried organization. The Fulbright Program was conceived as a solution to a temporary postwar problem. It was not expected to last more than 20 years. As long as it was thought to be a temporary program, one might be tolerant of defects in its organization, but this tolerance is less of a virtue almost 30 years later. The time is surely ripe for a review of the program's organization in the light of experience. Dr. Frankel called for a radical review as long ago as 1964. The Committee on International Exchange of Persons arranged a conference at Woods Hole in 1972 to consider its future role, but the discussion centered more on new patterns of scholarly exchange than on the program's organization. The program's complex organization needs to be looked at as questioningly as in the early years when the problems it generated came as a shock.

One question to be asked is whether the board and the council still do themselves and the academic community a service by carrying the burden of selection and recruitment. In shouldering these responsibilities the council insulates the Board of Foreign Scholarships and the State Department from many of the implications of their planning. It also insulates them from the academic community. In a study that John Gardner made in 1963-64 of the relations between the Agency for International Development and the universities, he found the universities complaining that AID lagged far behind other agencies -- examples are the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Energy Research and Development Administration -- in its understanding of the universities.[16] The same might be said of university relations with the State Department as a whole. In spite of their importance in informing and shaping public opinion, the department has few contacts with the universities. Both would benefit if communications between them were better.

When the Board of Foreign Scholarships enlisted the help of the Conference Board in 1947, the academic community was not used to having government agencies offer fellowships or research grants. There was a strong feeling that if the government chose award recipients the choice would be influenced by politics. Since then innumerable agencies have gotten into the business of making awards to scholars, sometimes with the help of academic advisory committees, and sometimes without. Although the number of awards made each year is enormous, there have been few complaints of partisanship. When partisanship is alleged, it is more often academic than political. The Board of Foreign Scholarships was established so that the selection of Fulbright recipients would be decided independently of the State Department. There may no longer be any need to remove the selection process a stage further.

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Chapter V

TERMINATION OF THE NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL STEWARDSHIP

In carrying out its administrative responsibility for the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program -- especially during the last 6 years -- the National Research Council (NRC) participated in the review of policy and program development through senior staff officers, but deferred to the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) whenever final decisions were required concerning program policy and directions. The restriction was deliberate. The Conference Board had asked the NRC to provide an administrative home for the CIES, not to direct its activities. The well-being of the CIES programs depended upon vigorous participation by the academic community, expressed through the activities of an independent CIES. The NRC's role was to facilitate this. Although the relationship was subject to friction from time to time, the CIES and the Conference Board generally found this to be a productive modus vivendi, and academia welcomed the home rule implicit in it.

On February 11, 1975, Assistant Secretary Richardson of the Department of State and the chairman and vice-chairman of the Board of Foreign Scholarships announced to Philip Handler, President of the National Academy of Sciences, their decision to transfer the administration of the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program from the academy to some other member council of the Conference Board. This decision had been reached without prior discussion with the Conference Board, the CIES, or the academy. The American Council on Education (ACE) was mentioned as the possible next locus for administration of the program. This unexpected event and the manner of its happening raised troubling questions concerning the future relationship of the Conference Board to this program.

The result was a series of meetings of the Conference Board, of the Conference Board with Assistant Secretary Richardson and the vice-chairman of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, of the Board of Foreign Scholarships with the CIES, and of the CIES with the Conference Board. During these numerous discussions, the CIES sought to assure that it would be sufficiently independent under a different administrative roof (early understood to be that of the American Council on Education) to be able to develop and conduct its program effectively. The reasoning and motivation of the Board of Foreign Scholarships never became clear. Indeed, at the peak of such discussions, when the Conference Board sought to obtain some understandable expression of the position of the State Department and its Board of Foreign Scholarships, the latter indicated that, in their view, it would be best not to describe relationships clearly, but to allow these to evolve from the interplay of events and personalities within "a constructive ambiguity." Althought Mr. Richardson had invited the Conference Board to make an independent assessment and to select the council best qualified to carry out the administrative assignment, it was made clear to the Conference Board that their range of choice did not include the possibility of asking the National Research Council to continue. The reasons remain obscure. Meanwhile, the Board of Foreign Scholarships had been in direct communication with the American Council on Education, which agreed to serve as the host institution for the administration of the program.

The National Research Council proposed to the American Council on Education that work get under way on the arrangements for the transfer. To allow time to make these arrangements and to carry out the transfer without disruption of the program, it was decided to make the transfer on or about January 1, 1976.

To examine the future relation of the Conference Board to the CIES, the four council presidents met with the CIES Executive Committee on June 2. The CIES representatives expressed the disquiet they felt about the forthcoming change and the negative implications for their role. At first they pressed the council presidents to assert a more direct responsibility for CIES operations vis-a-vis both the Department of State and the administering council. In reply, although the view was not unanimous, the council presidents indicated that the unilateral action by the State Department had drastically altered the nature of their relationship to the program. A new relationship would have to be worked out, they said, one that would recognize overtly that the State Department henceforth either would itself exercise direct control of CIES affairs, would expect the administering council to do so, or would regard the CIES as autonomous. The CIES, the administering council, and the State Department would have to establish the relationship among themselves. The Conference Board, however, had become redundant in Fulbright Program affairs. To a question from the CIES about the extent to which the Conference Board would formally sponsor the CIES and its activities, the council presidents replied that they would nominate persons to serve as members of CIES and its panels and would offer advice when asked, but would not do more. Under the circumstances, the Conference Board did not consider it appropriate to choose the administering council.

Subsequently, the council presidents, by mail and telephone, developed their formal reply to Assistant Secretary Richardson:

> Representatives of the Conference Board have now had the benefit of discussions, first -- some weeks ago -- with you and Mr. Lowitz, Vice Chairman of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, and, second -- on June 2 -- with the Executive Committee of CIES. These meetings and the series of related events that included your visit of February 11, 1975 to Dr. Handler made it clear that a new, more limited relationship has, in fact, been established and should be made explicit.
>
> The Conference Board stands ready to help in any appropriate way to maintain the strength of the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program. But the nature and extent of such assistance will be constrained by the fact that the Board can no longer function as if it has the responsibilities that it was assumed to have in the past. Initiatives taken within the Department of State, culminating in the Department's decision to transfer the administrative responsibility for the program to another administering organization, have created a new reality in which direct participation by the Conference Board has become redundant. Henceforth, the Board's role must not be represented as involving "sponsorship" or as including responsibility for policy formulation, administration, or operation of the Program.

If requested to do so, each of the four Councils which comprise the Conference Board will be pleased to nominate to the Department individuals especially well qualified for appointment to CIES. Similarly, if so requested, the four Councils, jointly, will nominate an individual or individuals qualified for appointment as the chairman of CIES. In addition, the four member-Councils, to the limit of their ability to do so, will respond individually and jointly to requests from CIES for members for its various committees. In our view, however, the formal responsibility should be worked out among CIES, the Department of State, and the Board of Foreign Scholarships without reference to the Conference Board.

It will be evident from the above description of the role of the Conference Board that the Board cannot, now, properly make a recommendation for the transfer of the administrative responsibility for the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program from the National Academy of Sciences to some other administering organization, as requested in your letter of February 24. The Board simply notes the intention of the Department of State to accomplish such a transfer. It was the understanding of all present at the meeting on June 2 that plans are being made for transfer of the physical location of, and administrative responsibility for, CIES to the American Council on Education, to be completed by 31 December 1975.

Writing to Dr. Handler,[2] Mr. Richardson then noted that the Conference Board had had no recommendation to make regarding the arrangements for administrative support of CIES and said that the State Department had therefore asked the American Council on Education to assume responsibility for the administrative support of CIES on or before December 31, 1975. He thanked the National Academy of Sciences and its staff for excellent support of the CIES over the many years of its stewardship.

A staff committee for the transfer, representing the American Council on Education, CIES, Department of State, and the NRC, began making the arrangements for the transfer on June 6, 1975. Subcommittees on contractual arrangements, accounting operations, physical arrangements, personnel, data processing, and communications held meetings throughout the summer and early fall. Space for the CIES operations was leased by the American Council on Education in 11 Dupont Circle, a new office building not far from the ACE headquarters. An arrangement was arrived at to allow the 40 permanent full-time members of the CIES staff to transfer to employment at ACE without loss of pay and with minimal dislocation of fringe benefits until they could be integrated into the ACE personnel system. All of the CIES staff agreed to make the transfer. NRC indicated its willingness to provide assistance in data processing into the early part of 1976 so that the required services could be put on a firmer footing at ACE. Finally, as the plans had developed satisfactorily and a time was approaching when the transfer could occur without serious disruption of CIES activities, the dates November 22-23, 1975, were set for the

transfer of the CIES files to the American Council on Education. The CIES staff reported to their new quarters on November 24, 1975, and a 28-year era in the life of the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program ended.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Letter of June 25, 1975, from R. M. Lumiansky to John Richardson.

2. Letter of July 1, 1975, from John Richardson to Philip Handler.